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764 184 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] [756] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is 756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the 764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial, 783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order 184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 184 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is [273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking, [535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at [533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

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796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the [273] end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carrying the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

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797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

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771 [793] [756] [797] 771 754 [797] [177] It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental attitude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite missionizing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather everything is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched, being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes 554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty and industrious members of the community, those who tower above the others because of their success.

754 177 There are no persons who are privileged because of age, sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans, who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 554 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán. On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives -- so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One [755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye, however, to this day.

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346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

4:Bernal Vilia--42 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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XVII

"Camarico" for the Priest

796 At four o'clock in the afternoon the fiestero and fiestera,
793 accompanied by their mayordomos, the cabildo, the musicians,
431 and other people, with the church standards in front and with a profusion of gunpowder, parade past the rectory. Each one bears a gift for the priest, called camarico, which consists of victuals and meat: green bananas, potatoes, eggs, meat, and salt. First the man presents his, and then his wife. This represents a testimonial to the priest for having come to celebrate the Mass for them. The mayordomos also present him with eggs.

In the house of the albacero flutes and drums resound and shouts go up, indicating that he is ready to receive the greeting of the fiestero.

XVIII

Extravagance and Protocol

796 It is five o'clock in the afternoon. In the house of the
431 fiestero firecrackers resound, while in that of the albacero there is much excitement. /210/ Both have their own chirimías. The time for the greeting and the exchange of gifts has come.

The fiestero and his wife, preceded by the church banners and followed by many attendants, the indispensable melodies of the chirimías, and the bursting of firecrackers and skyrockets, have left their home, each with a plate covered with a brightly colored kerchief, on which they bear the gift for the albacero and his wife, respectively, consisting of a cake /bizcochuelo/, a bottle of aguardiente, one large candle of laurel wax and

4:Bernal Villa--48 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The
priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros,
and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is
accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a
fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general
pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old
fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a
procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the
banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico,
who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new
fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with
great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the
banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned
calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this
feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero.
In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the
table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of
chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] [179] [177] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 796 182 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 793 719 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry

4:Bernal Villa--57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
798 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
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